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No. 1

The opponents of liberal studies, and in particular the adversaries of that most liberal of all studies, the pursuit of the Classics of ancient Greece and ancient Rome, fondly urge that the study of the Classics is valueless because such study has no point of contact with the life of to-day. When they talk thus, they make one think of the Scriptural saying, "by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned". Condemned they should be, because they forget that to Greece we are indebted deeply in architecture and in sculpture, and that to ancient Greek literature modern English literature and modern English intellectual life owe a debt too large to be measured, partly as the result of the direct influence of Greek literature and Greek thought on English literature and English thought, partly as the result of the indirect influence of Greek literature and Greek thought on English literature and English thought, for centuries through Latin literature and, more recently and perhaps even more strikingly, through the primacy of German thought during the nineteenth century. At the end of the eighteenth century the Germans for the first time began seriously to study Greek; as one of their greatest classical scholars, Friedrich Leo, pointed out, that study of Greek was the vivifying force which enabled the Germans, for the first time, to develop a literature worthy of the name, and also gave them that intellectual supremacy which made the rest of the world eager to sit at their feet as pupils. To ancient Greece, in a word, we are indebted, whether we know it or not, for much of what is aesthetic in our lives and their settings. To Rome we are indebted largely in the sphere of law and government. From a close study of Roman experience our statesmen might still learn many things. For example, among the ancient Romans, a people by no means commercial, as we define commercial peoples to-day, large business combinations something akin to our trusts grew up. Regulators of trusts to-day would profit greatly from a minute study of the conditions which made such combinations spring up in ancient Rome, and by a comparison or contrast of those conditions with the circumstances that have, in our day and our country, led to the growth of the trusts. Such a study would long ago have shown the futility of efforts to prevent such combinations, and have long ago taught that regulation—sane regulation—is the only wise policy. The thorough learning of that lesson by a study of ancient Roman life would have saved our

country from much disturbance, and from much financial loss.

If certain of our statesmen had studied the monetary history of ancient Greece and ancient Rome, the free coinage of silver fallacy would never have gained such headway. The Romans, for example, had gold coinage only spasmodically prior to 15 B. C. It would be easy for a superficial observer to say that the Romans were on a silver basis, since no gold was visible in circulation. Yet, in fact, all large financial transactions were made in terms of the bars of silver and gold which formed the main reserves of the private bankers as of the state treasuries; the value of silver, he it noted further, was determined by its relation to gold. In a word, the monetary basis was really gold. All this makes one think of the fact that the English word *expend* is derived from the Latin verb *pendo*, which means properly to weigh: originally payments were made in weights of copper; later, long after coined money in copper and silver was in common use, large payments were made through the weighing of bars of silver and of gold.

A striking tendency of the present day is the disposition to put vast sums of government money at the disposal of various classes of the community, as a means of support through governmental funds. Long ago the experience of Rome suggested that here the watchword should be 'Make haste slowly'. Under the Roman Republic grain was imported by the government or by individual politicians ambitious of advancement, and was then sold at rates much under the market price or even distributed to the populace without charge of any sort; the custom had become so deeply rooted by the time of Augustus that this astute statesman, though he saw the unwisdom of the policy, found himself helpless to effect adequate change or improvement. Every one will recall the famous and bitter saying of the satirist Juvenal that the erstwhile rulers of the world, the citizens of Rome, care now for naught but bread and spectacles—both supplied out of the state or the imperial treasury. How much, finally, our countrymen might have learned of the evils of slavery, how much they might have spared their country, had they been minded to learn and to heed the lesson to be gathered from the experience, in particular, of ancient Rome!

One other familiar point will be urged here again—the indebtedness of the English language to the languages of ancient Greece and Rome. The familiar

statements concerning the extent of this indebtedness were never so strikingly brought home to me as by the following incident. One time a very vigorous American opponent of the Classics was insisting, in a public address, that the assertion that English is much indebted to Latin was wildly exaggerated. One of his auditors was struck by the fact that in this very part of his address the speaker was using a large percentage of English words of Latin derivation. Next day, finding this part of the address reported pretty fully, he noted, by actual count, that seventy per cent of all the words used by this opponent of Latin to condemn the study of that language were words of Latin derivation. Surely by his words was this speaker condemned! How deeply English is indebted to both Greek and Latin any one can find out for himself by looking up in a good dictionary the etymologies of the words in the following simple sentences, if he does not already know them:

We all go to School or to College or to the University. We study there arithmetic, geography, geology, grammar, science, literature, art, poetry, etc. For recreation, we go to the theater and witness the drama, played by actors, and often enjoy the dialogue. Or we go to the opera, and enjoy the music, rendered by an orchestra or by a chorus. In business we use the telephone and the telegraph. When we die, the very last things we have to do with are a doctor and medicine; when men are dead, they are laid away in a cemetery or are cremated.

At present there is a vigorous campaign in favor of vocational training, of training which shall, as its advocates say, prepare the pupil directly for life. The advocates of such training might again learn much from a knowledge of the Classics. They might learn, for instance, from Aristotle, that one should begin every discussion with a definition, that there may be clear knowledge on the part of all of the end and aim of the discussion. Advocates of vocational training forget to ask themselves What is Life? If they stopped to ask this question, they might answer it, not merely within the sphere of religion, but within the sphere of national life, by saying, that "Man shall not live by bread alone". They could, however, learn far more than that by a study of the intellectual life of ancient Rome. Such study would, at first blush, give them comfort, for they would see in the Romans a people after their own heart, who believed in industrial training, in preparing the boy directly for his 'practical life work', and a people that had no patience, at least for centuries, with devotion to literature or to liberal training. But, if they looked beneath the surface, they would find much to give them pause, and to make them question their theory that the shortest cut to practical life is the best. If they were to study the career of Cicero, for instance, they would see in him a man who, when he began his practical life, was virtually without influence at Rome—a provincial, a rustic, member of a family no single member of which had ever held office at Rome. They would find that, in a short life of 63

years, Cicero won for himself a lasting place in Roman history, that he outstripped all predecessors in theoretical and practical mastery of rhetoric and oratory, that he became the leader of the Roman Bar, that he, more than any predecessor, even the great poet-scientist Lucretius, endowed the Romans with a philosophical literature, and that, finally—to my mind his greatest achievement—he first saw and realized in fact the possibilities of Latin as a vehicle of prose-writing. If, having learned all this, they should go one step further and study carefully what we know of Cicero's training, they would come upon the important fact that it was precisely because he ran counter to the received educational convictions and policies of his countrymen and gave himself a most thorough liberal training that he was able to accomplish the things set forth in the foregoing sentence. Surely, if even in such a distinctly modern matter as the question between vocational and liberal training we can get definite light from the Classics, no thinking person can seriously maintain that the study of the Classics is without value for practical modern life.

C. K.

THE 'PASSING' OF THE SEQUENCE OF TENSES¹

Nearly twenty years ago, Professor William Gardner Hale made a violent assault upon the syntactical formulation current then, and now, under the denomination Sequence of Tenses². At the same time, a trenchant reply was made by Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, in a review of the first and second portions of Hale's argumentation³. Some ten years later, Arthur Tappan Walker, now Professor of Latin at the University of Kansas, dealt with the subject in his doctoral dissertation, and to a certain degree combated Professor Hale's position⁴. Inasmuch as, so far as the writer is aware, Professor Hale's theory and its pedagogical corollaries have made little headway in classical circles, it would seem unnecessary to recur here to the topic, were it not that the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature saw fit to adopt Professor Hale's interpretation of tense meaning in Latin⁵, and to recommend that the use of the tenses in Latin be taught along the lines advocated by him in the articles already mentioned⁶.

Professor Hale's own statement reads:

The tense of the dependent subjunctive conveys temporal meaning, precisely as does the tense of an independent subjunctive or indicative. . . . A subjunctive clause is, in regard to its tense, not dependent upon the principal clause: in dependent as in independent subjunctives, the tense conveys meaning, and owes its choice to that fact⁷.

¹This paper was read before the American Philological Association at Haverford College, on December 29, 1914.

²American Journal of Philology (abbreviated A. J. P.) 7 (1886). 446-465; 8, 46-77; 9, 158-177.

³A. J. P. 8, 228-231.

⁴The Sequence of Tenses in Latin: A Study based on Caesar's Gallic War (Lawrence, Kansas, 1899; printed also in the Kansas University Quarterly, 7, No. 4).

⁵Report (University of Chicago Press, 1913), 60-62, 57.

⁶Compare especially A. J. P. 8, 70 ff.

⁷A. J. P. 8, 46, 7, 465.

Against this theory, which for convenience may be termed the Non-Sequence of Tenses Theory, may be stated, for comparison, the doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses, as understood by the writer according to his teachers and his private study:

In dependent clauses taking the subjunctive, primary tenses are used in dependence upon primary tenses in the main clause, and secondary in dependence upon secondary; the present and imperfect subjunctive denote action incomplete (i. e., present or future) with respect to the time of the verb on which they depend, and the perfect and the pluperfect subjunctive denote action complete (i. e., past) in respect to the time of the main verb. There is one main exception: in result clauses, where the subjunctive has encroached upon the domain of the indicative, the tenses have their indicative values.

The question at issue is, whether the subjunctive tenses when subordinate express absolute time, or relative time⁸. The wide development of the idea of relative time in Latin is seen in certain common uses of the imperfect indicative, and in the common uses of the

⁸That no injustice may be done to Professor Hale, it may be said that, since this paper was read at Haverford College, the writer has held a long conversation with him on this point and has discussed the matter also with several of Professor Hale's former pupils, without feeling that there was anything to modify in his own position except a few matters of phraseology. Professor Hale's statement is, as already quoted, "A subjunctive clause is, in regard to its tense, not dependent upon the principal clause"; and this can hardly mean anything other than that the central point of his teaching is that the subordinate subjunctives denote absolute time and not relative time, so far as concerns the verb of the clause on which they depend.

Yet apparently Professor Hale modifies his position somewhat in his third article (especially A. J. P. 9.171-172), when he defines the values of the subjunctive tenses in the dependent clauses. Likewise (ib. 160) he admits that for him to say that "no such thing as is meant by the doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses exists" (A. J. P. 8.59) was "certainly incautious". Further, he confesses (9.160) that the doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses is interpreted in a variety of ways, a fact with which he had not theretofore been familiar. Now, his first two articles in A. J. P. seem to be based upon the supposition that according to the Sequence of Tenses the tenses of the dependent subjunctives are determined automatically by the tense of the main verb, and that no temporal significance persists in them. A scholar who studied with Professor Hale at about the time of the writing of the articles has assured the writer that by the teaching of that period the dependent tenses of the subjunctive were indeed mere automata summoned up mechanically by the Sequence rule; but another scholar of at least equal years and reputation has given assurances that such was not the way in which he was taught. On this matter the testimony of Allen and Greenough's Latin Grammar (the edition with the copyright date of 1877), is instructive. There we read:

"284. In Dependent Clauses, the tenses of the Subjunctive denote Relative time, not with reference to the speaker, but to the time of some other verb".

"286. In compound sentences, a Primary tense in the leading clause is followed by a Primary tense in the dependent clause; and a Secondary tense is followed by a Secondary".

This, with the explanatory material, presents in all essentials the view of Tense Sequence which is still current to-day. If, therefore, Professor Hale was combating the idea that the tenses of dependent subjunctives were mere automata, he betrayed lack of knowledge of the Grammars of the time, and set up a man of straw in order to knock him down. If he was combating the idea expressed in the citations from Allen and Greenough, then he was championing the idea that the dependent subjunctives express by their tense absolute time and not relative time, and the present paper seeks to show the incorrectness of his position. If he is really taking merely the position indicated by his definition of the tense values of dependent subjunctives (A. J. P. 9.171-172), his departure from the position of Allen and Greenough is too slight to warrant such exceedingly radical changes as he recommends for the teaching of the subject. And, finally, any statement made to-day, that thirty years ago the Sequence of Tenses was not interpreted as it is now, even granting that to be true, in itself removes the ground of justification for the advocacy, in the Report of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, of Professor Hale's way of teaching the tense usage of dependent subjunctives.

pluperfect and the future perfect indicative. It is seen further, and even to better advantage, in the use of the tenses of the infinitive in indirect discourse, where present, future, and perfect indicate action contemporaneous, future and past, respectively, in relation to the time of the verb on which the indirect discourse depends; no faintest trace of absolute time is to be detected in them. That the subjunctive tenses should, then, denote relative time rather than absolute time in dependent clauses would be no surprising phenomenon.

At the outset, it must be admitted that most subordinate subjunctives may be interpreted according to either theory of the meaning of their tenses. Let us take, as an example, Caesar B. G. 1.2.1 *civitati persuasit, ut de finibus suis cum omnibus copiis exirent*. Here, by the sequence theory, the imperfect subjunctive, a secondary tense, is used to denote action incomplete, depending upon a secondary tense in the main clause; by the non-sequence theory, the subjunctive in that tense is used to indicate time past with respect to the time at which the sentence was penned. Either interpretation interprets; but the sequence interpretation gives more meaning to the word. If there be no sequence as a principle for the selection of tenses, why do we not have the perfect tense sometimes in such clauses as that just quoted, instead of the imperfect? and why does not the imperfect crop out at times where we actually have the pluperfect, except it be that time relative to that of the main verb is the deciding factor? But this particular line of thought offers less prospect of profit than does an examination of instances which transgress the one doctrine or the other, instances where absolute time controls the choice of the tense to the exclusion of relative time, and instances where relative time directs the selection of the tense and overrides the claims of absolute time.

(I) Statements of facts known to be true at the time of writing or speaking, and universal timeless truths, are in independent clauses normally expressed by the present tense in association with other primary tenses⁹, but normally shift into the imperfect accompanied by other secondary tenses, if expressed by a clause requiring the subjunctive, in subordination to secondary tenses of the main clause. Examples¹⁰:

⁹Other tenses have gnomic uses, as in Horace Epp. 1.7.21 *Haec seges ingratos tulit et feret omnibus annis*, but these are really specific instances mentioned as types of their kind rather than true general statements. Compare Horace Epp. 1.7.20 *Prodigus et stultus donat quae spernit et odit*, immediately preceding the verse just quoted. Descriptive imperfects are of course to be held distinct.

¹⁰The examples for the purpose of this paper were collected from Caesar B. G. 1-4; Cicero *In Catilinam* 1-4, *De Imperio Pompei*, *Pro Archia*, *Pro Marcello*, *Cato*, *Laelius*; Vergil *Aeneid* 1-6, because the writer was immediately interested in the bearing of the problem upon the teaching of Latin in the Schools and in the first year of the College. Numerous examples from other texts are given, but are not the product of systematic search.

In short Latin passages, where all the verbs are involved in the discussion, no Italics are used. In longer passages containing both verbs involved in the discussion of a particular point and other verbs not so involved, the verbs involved in the discussion are in Italics.

Caesar B. G. 1.36.1 Ad haec Ariovistus respondit: ius esse belli, ut, qui vicissent, iis, quos vicissent, quem ad modum velent, imperarent.

Caesar B. G. 1.40.6 (indirect discourse depending upon a verb in a secondary tense) Ex quo iudicari posse, quantum haberet in se boni constantia.

Caesar B. G. 1.50.4 Cum ex captivis quaereret Caesar, quam ob rem Ariovistus proelio non decertaret, hanc *reperiebat* causam, quod apud Germanos ea consuetudo *esset*, ut matres familiae eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus *declararent*, utrum proelium committi ex usu *esset* necne.

Cicero Cat. 3.11 Qui cum illi breviter constanterque respondissent, per quem ad eum quotiensque venissent, quaesissentque ab eo, nihilo secum *esset* de fatis Sibyllinis locutus, tum ille subito scelere demens, quanta conscientiae *vis esset*, ostendit.

Cicero Cat. 4.9 Intellectum est, quid interesset inter levitatem contionatorum et animum vere popularem saluti populi consulentem.

Cicero Pomp. 27 Satis mihi multa verba *fecisse* videor, quare *esset* hoc bellum genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculosum.

Cicero Cato 11 augurque cum *esset*, dicere *ausus est* optimis auspiciis ea geri, quae pro rei publicae salute *gererentur*, quae contra rem publicam *ferrentur*, contra auspicia ferri.

Cicero Cato 39-41 (incitarentur, impelleret, dedisset, posset, posset, gauderet, posset, *esset*, extingueret); 42 (intuegeretis, possemus, emiceret, liberaret, operet); 62 (defenderet); 78 (essent nominati, haberemus; cum simplex animi natura *esset* neque haberet, . . . , beside instances of representation); 80 (essent, excessissent, evasisset, coepisset; immediately followed by similar general statements put independently, in the primary tenses).

Cicero Laelius 24 Agrigentinum quidem doctum quendam virum carminibus Graecis *vaticinatum* ferunt, quae in rerum natura totoque mundo *constarent* quaeque *moverentur*, ea contrahere amicitiam, dissipare discordiam.

Cicero Laelius 33-35 (ponerentur, perducti *essent*, posset, provecti *essent*, incidissent, *esset*, postularetur, *essent*, recusarent, faterent, arguerentur, nollent, auderent, diceret); 60 (adhiberemus, inciperemus, possemus); 62 (essent, haberet, haberet, *essent*, iudicaret).

Cicero Tusc. 5.10 Sed ab antiqua philosophia usque ad Socratem, . . . numeri motusque tractabantur, et unde omnia orirentur quoque reciderent.

Cicero Acad. Pr. 2.8 Nam ceteri primum ante tenentur adstricti quam quid *esset* optimum iudicare *potuerunt*.

Lucretius 5.1183-1185

Praeterea caeli rationes ordine certo
et varia annorum cernebant tempora verti
nec poterant quibus id *feret* cognoscere causas.

We have here a considerable mass of examples¹¹ which may be taken to show that under normal circumstances a truth timeless or known to be true at the time of writing or speaking passes into the secondary tenses of the subjunctive, when it is dependent upon a verb in a secondary tense, and the construction of the clause requires the subjunctive. But there are some instances in which under these circumstances the primary tenses are retained¹².

Caesar B. G. 6.35.2 Hic, quantum in bello fortuna possit et quantos afferat casus, cognosci potuit.

Cicero De Lege Agraria 2.93 Nam primum, id quod dixi, cum in ceteris coloniis Ilviri appellentur, hi se praetores appellari volebant.

Cicero Tusc. 1.3 Nam cum apud Graecos antiquissimum e doctis genus *sit* poetarum, si quidem Homerus fuit et Hesiodus ante Romam conditam, Archilochus regnante Romulo, serius poeticam nos *accepimus*.

Cicero Pomp. 42 Iam quantum consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et copia valeat . . . vos, Quirites, hoc ipso ex loco saepe cognovistis.

Cicero Ad. Fam. 3.6.4 Quae quantum in provincia *valeant*, *vellem expertus essem*, sed tamen suspicor.

It so happens that in these five examples of clauses which logically might be expressed independently of the time of the principal clause, and in fact are so expressed, preserving primary tenses though they are dependent upon secondary tenses, the clause which violates the sequence stands before the principal clause, and may be considered to have been framed while the writer's mind was still in doubt as to the exact formulation of the principal clause: in other words, we have a mild anacoluthon¹³. It would be rash to say that the preservation of the primary tenses in clauses timeless or still true depends upon such a principle, but it may very well be a deciding factor in a large percentage of the instances; certainly the conditions for its operation exist in all the examples which the writer is able to quote, except one:

Cicero Pro Quinct. 89 Omnino autem bona *possessa* non *esse* constitui, quod bonorum possessio *spectetur* non in aliqua parte, sed in universis, quae teneri et possideri *possint*.

Professor Hale argues, of course, that the presence of certain instances of failure to follow the sequence of tenses in clauses of this class is a demonstration of the validity of his theory, and that the instances of secondary sequence in them are thus explicable:

A universal fact may be regarded with reference to its bearing upon some present act or judgment, or with reference to its bearing upon some past act or judgment. In the first case it is a universal truth put as *now applicable*, in the second a universal truth put as *then applicable*. That which tells whether the point of view from which the universal truth is applied is that of a present judgment or that of a past judgment, is the tense. . . . General or lasting truths may be put, in their larger aspect, in the general present or so-called logical perfect, or, in their aspect as bearing upon some past act at the time at which they likewise existed, in the imperfect or logical pluperfect¹⁴.

In other words, he admits that the verbs in such clauses express relative time; this is, to the writer's mind, merely another way of saying that here a sequence of tenses exists.

¹¹See also below, pages 5, 10. A similar anacoluthon, due to the postponement of the principal clause, occurs in Horace *Serm. 1.3.120-121*

Nam si terula caedas meritum maiora subire
verbera, non *veretur*.
where *si* means 'that' instead of 'that not' as it usually does in connection with expressions of fearing.

¹²A. J. P. 8.53f

¹¹Compare also Cicero Tusc. 1.1, quoted by Hale, A. J. P. 8.54.

¹²All but one are cited by Hale, A. J. P. 7.455-456.

(II) The imperfect subjunctive, though a secondary tense, is used to express present contrary-to-fact conditions and present impossible wishes; and in these capacities it throws subordinate subjunctives into the secondary tenses. Examples:

Cicero Pomp. 27 Utinam, Quirites, virorum fortium atque innocentium copiam tantam haberetis, ut haec vobis deliberatio difficilis esset, quemnam potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello praeficiendum putaretis!

Cicero Verr. 2.5.136 Ipse pater si iudicaret, per deos immortalis, quid facere *posses*, cum tibi haec *diceret*?

Ib. 138 Haec si tibi tuus parens diceret, *posses* ab eo veniam petere? *posses* ut tibi *ignosceret* postulare?

Cicero Cato 82 Quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi immortales *essent*, haud optimi cuiusque animus maxime ad immortalitatem et gloriam niteretur.

Cicero Laelius 29 Quod si ita *esset*, ut quisque minimum esse in se *arbitraretur*, ita ad amicitiam *esset* aptissimus, quod longe secus est.

Cicero Laelius 87 Atque hoc maxime iudicaretur, si quid tale *posset* contingere, ut aliquis nos deus ex hac hominum frequentia *tolletet* et in solitudine uspiam *collocaret* atque ibi suppeditans omnium rerum, quas natura desiderat, abundantiam et copiam hominis omnino aspiciendi potestatem *eriperet*: quis tam *esset* ferreus qui eam vitam ferre *posset* cuique non *auferret* fructum voluptatum omnium solitudo?

Vergil Aen. 4.15-16, 19

Si mihi non animo fixum immotumque *sederet*,
ne cui me vinco *vellem* sociare iugali.
huic uni forsitan potui succumbere culpa.

Vergil Aen. 4.327-330

Saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula
luderet, Aeneas, qui te tamen ore *referret*,
non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.

Vergil Aen. 6.879-881

Non illi se quisquam impune tulisset
obvius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem
seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.

Lucretius 1.180-183

Quod si de nilo fierent, subito exorerentur
incerto spatio atque alienis partibus anni;
quippe ubi nulla forent primordia, quae genitali
concilio possent arceri tempore iniquo.

Over against these examples of Sequence the writer can set but one example of Non-Sequence:

Cicero Cat. 2.15 Sed cum *sint* homines, qui illum, cum *profectus sit*, eiectionem esse *dicant*, idem, si interfectus *esset*, quid *dicerent*?

Again it is notable that in this example of Non-Sequence, the subordinate clause with the subjunctive in a non-sequent tense precedes the main clause, and may fairly be regarded as an example of slight anacoluthon (compare above pages 4, 5; below, 10). Professor Hale admits that the tenses used in clauses subordinate to conditions contrary-to-fact do not ordinarily violate the schematic arrangement of the Sequence rule, and explains as follows:

In complex sentences made up of a main sentence with subjunctive verb and one or more subordinate sentences, the modal feeling in the speaker's mind which expresses itself in the main sentence is, in the nature of things, very likely to continue in the speaker's mind

in the subordinated sentence or sentences, either quite unchanged or but slightly shaded¹⁵.

Again, Professor Hale in reality admits that the subordinated subjunctives express relative rather than absolute time, though the latter is his thesis.

(III) When contrary-to-fact conditions are placed in subordination to statements in a primary tense, there is no change of the tense from the imperfect and pluperfect, for the sake of a mechanical Sequence, so long as the entire conditional complex is expressed:

Cicero Marc. 17 Quos amissimus cives, eos Martis vis perculit, non ira victoriae, ut dubitare *debeat* nemo, quin multos, si fieri *posset*, C. Caesar ab inferis *excitaret*, quoniam ex eadem acie conservat, quos potest.

Cicero De Fin. 2.49 Quia tale *sit* ut, vel si *ignorarent* id homines vel si *obmutuissent*, sua tamen pulchritudine *esset* specieque laudabile.

Cicero Ad Att. 4.5.1 Non est credibile, quae *sit* perfidia in istis principibus, ut volunt esse et ut *essent*, si quicquam *haberent* fidei.

But in comparisons, with the suppression of the conclusion the condition assumes the form favored by a mere mechanical Sequence of Tenses, as in these examples:

Vergil Aen. 4.667-671:

Lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu
tectae fremunt, *resonat* magnis plangoribus aether,
non aliter, quam si immissis *quat* hostibus omnis
Karthago aut antiqua Tyros flammaeque furentes
culmina perque hominum *volvuntur* perque deorum.

Cicero Cato 6 Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam *confeceris*, quam nobis quoque ingrediendum sit, istuc, quo pervenisti, videre quale sit.

Livy 21.41.15 Hic *est* obstandum, velut si ante Romana moenia *pugnemus*.

In sentences of the last type there is an evident shift to the scheme of tenses demanded by the principle of Sequence, in defiance of the general use of secondary tenses of the subjunctive to express the unreal suppositions¹⁶. When the secondary tenses remain unchanged, it is by the influence of the special meaning of these tenses; but the shift can best be accounted for on the basis of a principle of Sequence, working here quite mechanically and in violation of the independent use of these tenses of the subjunctive.

Even, however, in conditions of comparison with suppressed conclusion, the secondary tense sometimes resists the pull of the Sequence principle, as in Cicero Laelius 14 Senu enim amisso *fit* idem, quasi *natus* non *esset* omnino, quem tamen esse natum et nos gaudemus et haec civitas, dum erit, laetabitur.

¹⁵A. J. P. 8.54.

¹⁶An alternative interpretation of these primary sequences is furnished by Hale and Buck, Latin Grammar, 504, 3, where the clauses are taken to be Imaginative Comparisons, representing originally a "command of the imagination, without any question about the fact", but the authors are forced to admit that "it would often be felt that the imagined act was really contrary to the actual fact, and accordingly the Imperfect and Past Perfect occur". Even granting this, only one class of clauses is disposed of; but a careful consideration of the examples fails to convince the writer that Hale and Buck are correct in this point.

(IV) Admittedly most subjunctives of subordinate clauses conform to the formula of the sequence of tenses; on this point there is no dispute. What Professor Hale insists upon, is that the tenses of subordinate subjunctives tell their own tale, absolutely: which, after all, means, relatively to the temporal standpoint of the speaker or writer. Now if we can find a class of clauses which do not tell their own story by their tenses, relatively to the standpoint of their writer or speaker, but only relatively to the standpoint of the time of the clause on which they depend, and directly violate the meaning of their tenses if taken in relation to the standpoint of the writer or speaker, it would seem as if Professor Hale must either abandon his position or modify it radically. For example, are there purpose clauses and the like with the imperfect subjunctive, dependent upon secondary tenses, but expressing ideas still uncompleted from the standpoint of the writer or speaker? Surely the imperfect subjunctive cannot express a present or future relatively to present time; and yet the following examples may be cited:

Cicero Cat. 3.15 Nam P. Lentulus, quamquam patefactis iudiciis, confessionibus suis, iudicio senatus non modo praetoris ius, verum etiam civis amiserat, tamen magistratu se *abdicaui*, ut, quae religio C. Mario, clarissimo viro, non fuerat, quo minus C. Glauciam, de quo nihil nominatim decretum erat, praetorem occideret, ea nos religione in privato P. Lentulo puniendo *liberemur* (the deliberation as to the nature of Lentulus's punishment was still going on when this was said).

Cicero Cat. 3.9 Galli . . . *dixerunt* Lentulum . . . *dixisse* fatalem hunc annum *esse* ad interitum huius urbis atque imperi, qui *esset* annus decimus post Virginum absolutionem, post Capitolii autem incensionem vicesimus (the year mentioned was the year in which these words were said).

Cicero Cat. 4.1 Mihi si haec condicio consulatus *datus est*, ut omnis acerbitates, omnis dolores cruciatusque *perferrem*, feram non solum fortiter, verum etiam libenter, dum modo meis laboribus vobis populoque Romano dignitas salusque pariat (that the action of *perferrem* is still thought of as in the future, is shown by the *feram* immediately following)¹⁷.

Cicero Pomp. 27 Utinam, Quirites, virorum fortium atque innocentium copiam *haberetis*, ut haec vobis deliberatio difficilis *esset* quemnam potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello praeficiendum *pularetis*! (the deliberation was still going on when these words were spoken).

Cicero Pomp. 57 Quo mihi etiam indignius videtur *obtreclatum esse* adhuc . . . ne *legaretur* A. Gabinus Cn. Pompeio expetenti ac postulanti (the question of the appointment of Gabinus was still unsettled when these words were spoken).

Cicero Pomp. 59 Qui cum ex vobis *quaereret*, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia *poneretis*, si quid eo *factum esset*, in quo spem *essetis habituri*, cepit magnum suae virtutis fructum ac dignitatis, cum omnes una prope voce in eo ipso vos spem habituros *esse dixistis* (the

action of *essetis habituri* and its dependent verbs is still distinctly future at the time of speaking).

Cicero Cato 1 Omnem autem sermonem *tribuimus* non Tithono, ut Aristo Ceus—parum enim *esset* auctoritatis in fabula—sed M. Catoni seni, quo maiorem auctoritatem *haberet* oratio; apud quem Laelium et Scipionem facimus admirantes, quod is tam facile senectutem ferat, eisque eum respondentem (here the tense of *haberet* shows *tribuimus* to be a perfect; as an epistolary perfect, it is written from the temporal standpoint of the reader of the essay, yet, as the *auctoritas fabulae* must rest upon the reading of the essay, the purpose clause expresses a purpose still future from the standpoint of the reader, and the imperfect subjunctive represents the idea relatively only to the secondary *tribuimus*).

Cicero Cato 77 Sed credo deos immortalis *sparsisse* animos in corpora humana, ut *essent* qui terras *luerentur* quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes *imilarentur* eum vitae modo atque constantia (the purpose clause is felt as one still operative, yet the sequence regulates the tense of the verbs).

Cicero Laelius 3 Quasi enim ipsos *induxi* loquentes ne 'inquam' et 'inquit' saepius *interponerentur* atque ut tamquam a praesentibus coram haberi sermo *videretur* (the purpose in *videretur* is still future at the time of writing, for it can be realized only when the reader reads the essay).

M. Antonius ap. Ciceronem Ad Att. 10.8a.2 Dedita opera ad te Calpurnium, familiarissimum meum, *misi*, ut mihi magnae curae tuam vitam ac dignitatem *esse scires* (*misi* is an epistolary perfect, from the temporal standpoint of the reading of the letter by the recipient; and the accomplishment of the purpose in *scires* is in reality present, not past, in respect to the time of the reading of the letter).

Vergil Aen. 1.234-237

Certe hinc Romanos olim volventibus annis,
hinc fore ductores, revocato a sanguine Teucris,
qui mare, qui terras omni ditione *tenerent*,
pollicitus—

(the time of *tenerent* is still distinctly future to that of the time when the words were spoken, though the tense is imperfect).

Vergil Aen. 2.94-96

Nec tacui demens et me, fors si qua *tulisset*,
si patrios umquam *remeassem* victor ad Argos,
promisi ultorem et verbis odia aspera movi.

(The verbs *tulisset* and *remeassem* represent by their tense the relation to *promisi*; the realization of the events fell subsequent to the time at which the words were said).

Vergil Aen. 2.189-194

Nam si vestra manus violasset dona Minervae,
tum magnum exitium (quod di prius omen in ipsum
convertant!) Priami imperio Phrygibusque futurum;
sin manibus vestris vestram *ascendisset* in urbem,
ultra Asiam magno Pelopea ad moenia bello
venturam, et nostros ea fata manere nepotes.

(The lines depend upon an implied *Calchas dixit*. The pluperfects are used to denote the relation to the past verb of saying, though the events which they denote are definitely thought of as future with respect to the time when the words were said by Sinon to the Trojans).

Vergil Aen. 4.227-231

Non illum genetrix nobis pulcherrima talem
promisit Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis;
sed fore, qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem
Italiam *regeret*, genus alto a sanguine Teucris
proderet ac totum sub leges *milleret* orbem

¹⁷In this passage, *datus est* would naturally, though not inevitably, be translated by 'has been given', which would seem to indicate that the perfect is here a primary tense; but I purpose to show elsewhere that the distinction between aoristic uses and true perfect uses of the Latin perfect indicative does not by any means coincide with the distinction in English indicated by the use of the past and the present perfect tenses.

(The usage here is very similar to that in Aen. 1.234-237, above).

Sallust Cat. 53.6 Sed memoria mea ingenti virtute, divorsis moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato et C. Caesar. Quos quoniam res obtulerat, silentio praeterire non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio possum, *aperirem* (fuit is an epistolary perfect, and the action of *aperirem* is a real future both from the standpoint of the writer and from that of the reader).

Horace Sat. 2.6.32-37

At simul atras
ventum est Esquilias, aliena negotia centum
per caput et circa saliunt latus. "Ante secundam
Roscius orabat sibi *adesses* ad Puteal cras".

"De re communi scribae magna atque nova te
orabant, hodie *meminisses*, Quinte, reverti".

(That the commissions which Horace received are thought of as lying still in the future cannot be doubted, because of the adverbs *cras* and *hodie* respectively; yet because of the epistolary imperfects upon which they depend, they are thrown into the secondary sequence).

These sixteen passages, it may be granted, are not all of the same degree of cogency; yet, by whatever means some are disposed of, there will remain a number which present in a past tense an action which from the standpoint of absolute time is distinctly and definitely future; these are of necessity to be interpreted on the basis of relative time, and controvert Professor Hale's position on the value of the tenses of subordinate subjunctives. Above all, nothing but a slavish application of a principle of sequence of tenses could produce *cras adesses* and *hodie meminisses reverti*.

(To be concluded)

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ROLAND G. KENT.

REVIEWS

Thesaurus Verborum quae in Titulis Ionicis Leguntur cum Herodoteo Sermonem Comparatus. Scripsit Christopherus Favre. Heidelberg: Winter (1914). Pp. 445.

A professor in an obscure Swiss Gymnasium adds one more to the long and rapidly lengthening list of partial Greek lexicons. The Ionic inscriptions have a unique importance, not only because they are more numerous than those in any other dialect except Attic, but also because of the light they throw upon the Ionic literature and upon the sources of the *κοινή*. We have every reason to be grateful for a careful and thorough study of the meaning and the history of all the words occurring in them. The author has avoided etymological questions, "quippe quae haud raro spinosae sint et paene eae, quas ne attingere quidem lubeat", and he has perforce confined his remarks to those meanings of the words which are illustrated by the inscriptions. Within this field his treatment is extraordinarily complete and accurate. Even the supplement to the Ionic inscriptions in the Sammlung der griechischen Dialektinschriften which Hoffmann published in 1914 adds nothing to Favre's material.

Each word and meaning are diligently compared with Herodotus's usage, if the word appears in the historian;

if it does not occur in Herodotus, we are informed of the occurrence of the word elsewhere in the language. In this task the author was assisted by a new and still unpublished Index Herodoteus, by W. Aly. The results of the comparison will be of inestimable value to future editors of Herodotus. One wonders why the same procedure was not followed with such Ionic authors as Hipponax and Herondas, for whom there are convenient indexes. No thoroughgoing treatment of the vocabulary of the Hippocratic writings is at present possible, since there is no satisfactory index. It is to be hoped that this most serious gap in our means for studying Greek lexicography will soon be filled.

Misprints are extraordinarily few for a work of this kind, and the reviewer has found only a half dozen mistakes or omissions. *παλλῆς*, "qui pubertati proximus est", occurs not only in lexicographers and grammarians but also in Comutus 38.4 Lang, etc. *ἀναθημουργέω* occurs in Maximus Confessor 2.665 C. Migne. One misses a reference to the Hippocratic *δέχομαι* contrasting with Herodotus's *δέχομαι*, since both forms occur in the inscriptions. Hoffmann is certainly right in interpreting *εμα* (SGDI. Ion. Nachtrag 57-bis) as equivalent to *εμα*. *σινδονίσκη* is cited from Plutarch, as it is in our dictionaries, but Bernardakis reads *σινδόνι*. For *σπληνίσκος*, s. v. *σπληνίσκον*, read *σπληνίσκον*; cf. Peter in The Greek Diminutive Suffix—*ισκο*—*ισκη*—, 187.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

E. H. STURTEVANT.

The Interpreters of Foreign Languages among the Ancients: A Study Based on Greek and Latin Sources. By Henry Snyder Gehman. University of Pennsylvania Dissertation. Lancaster, Pa.: Intelligencer Printing Co. (1914). Pp. 67.

This dissertation is a collection of incidents dealing with interpreters in ancient times as intermediaries, chiefly between Greeks or Romans on the one hand and some other ancient people on the other. The need of interpreters in intercourse between nations is manifest. Signs and gestures sometimes suffice, as in Herodotus's story of the silent traffic between the Carthaginians and the natives on the west coast of Africa; but commerce and other international relations, as a rule, demand the services of a translator, and so the use of interpreters in antiquity must have been general. Men learned foreign languages either by residence abroad or by contact with other nationalities at home. In Egypt interpreters formed a distinct class, one of Herodotus's seven classes. By the order of Alexander the Great thirty thousand chosen Persian youths were taught Greek; his conquest of the East and subsequently the Roman conquest spread a knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages throughout the region. Very often interpreters were slaves of freedmen who translated their mother-tongue into the language of their adopted country; thus many of them came from the lower classes.

The incidents that make up this dissertation are drawn from the two classic literatures from the earliest period down to the time of Ammianus Marcellinus. They are classified according to the languages interpreted; first are given the incidents that involve Greek and various foreign tongues in succession, then those involving Latin and other languages. The expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks to Babylonia and Alexander's campaigns in Asia furnished many occasions for the employment of interpreters¹. Every student of the Anabasis recalls the names of the interpreters Pigres and Glus, and some will remember that the Persian Pategyas and the Greek Phalinus spoke both languages. When Alexander sent Onesicritus to confer with the Indian philosophers, one of these sages said that to attempt to show the utility of philosophy even through three interpreters was to expect water to flow pure through mud. With different imagery Themistocles likened speech carried on through an interpreter to a piece of tapestry folded up and so hiding its figures from sight. It was through interpreters that Alexander addressed his Asiatic troops, recovered his horse Bucephalus from the Mardians, consoled the mother and wife of Darius, and held intercourse with foreigners generally. Undoubtedly he made constant use of them in the East, just as Julius Caesar reports that he himself did in Gaul (compare *cotidianis interpretibus*, B. G. 1. 19.3). The historian Josephus served under Titus at the siege of Jerusalem as his interpreter in his relations with the Jews. Cicero's words imply that it was the custom to have interpreters on hand in the Roman Senate. Their services must have been required often in the provinces, especially since national pride demanded that an official representative of the Roman people should be addressed and should make answer in the Latin language.

It is needless to say that the dissertation is interesting. In fact, the human interest of some of the stories leads the author to give them in greater detail than the small part played in them by the interpreter warrants. The subject was suggested by Professor Rolfe's note in *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* 7. 126 f., in which he complained of its neglect in the handbooks, especially in Daremberg and Saglio's Dictionary. Our author found few books for his bibliography, and these are mainly dictionaries and lexicons.

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CHARLES W. PEPILER.

The Reorganization of the Roman Empire. A Chapter by Professor J. S. Reid, in *The Cambridge Mediaeval History*, Volume 1 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911). 30 pages.

The student of the later Roman empire will find in the first volume of *The Cambridge Mediaeval History* a chapter (II) by Professor J. S. Reid on the Reorganization of the Roman Empire. It takes up with some

degree of fulness the changes made by Diocletian and his successors in the civil, financial, and military branches of the government. The great bureaus or *scrinia*, such as the *Ab Epistulis*, *A Libellis*, *A Rationibus*, are described with some brief account of how they arose. The powers of some of the great officials, like the *Praefectus Praetorio*, the *Magister Officiorum*, *Quaestor Sacri Palatii*, are described both clearly and adequately. Following this comes the discussion of changes in taxation made necessary by new territorial units. Here also there is shown to be the same concentration and centralization of power in the hands of the Emperor. The old senatorial treasury has either ceased to exist or is disregarded. The new divisions of territory also made necessary a reorganization of the military power; these changes are noticed briefly.

The social effects of this new system were disastrous. They all resulted in a tendency to fix classes and responsibilities into a rigid system, with severe penalties for trying to escape. This condition of things was the result very largely of the financial policy and taxing system invented by Diocletian, which had to fix classes in order to provide for sufficient income, and to insure that this income would be permanent.

BYRN MAWR COLLEGE.

J. F. FERGUSON.

A REJOINDER

I regret that, when I wrote my review of Professor's Sturtevant's edition of the *Andria* (*THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 8.183), I misunderstood his notes on the word *Chremes*. Of the other "errors" in the review to which he calls attention (*THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 8.216) I am not guilty. For what I said about the word "excellencies" I have only to refer to the *Century Dictionary* s. v. *Excellency*.

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A. W. HODGMAN.

[It remains to add that for the mistake in a reference, to which Professor Sturtevant called attention, Professor Hodgman was in no way responsible. That mistake was made when Professor Hodgman's manuscript was typewritten in my office, for transmission to the printer. c. k.]

LATIN ENTERTAINMENT AT THE LOS ANGELES HIGH SCHOOL

On April 9 The Classical Club of the Los Angeles High School held a *convivium*, at which two scenes from the *Aeneid*, which Dr. Walter A. Edwards, of the School, had cast in dramatic form, were acted in Latin by pupils of the School. At the close Professor Kellogg's Latin version of *America* (see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 8. 7) was sung. The guests, some seventy-five in number, wore Roman costume. As the cup went round, each rose and voiced some appropriate sentiment in Latin, original or quoted. The paper on which the menu and the programme were printed were meant to suggest papyrus.

¹See Dr. Gehman's paper on *The Use of Interpreters by the Ten Thousand* and by Alexander, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 8. 9-14.



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